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AUTHOR Murray, Ellen; Wellman, Barry

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ABSTRACT

In this study the extent to which variation in academic success is related to variation in adolescent identification with "student role" is examined. Particular attention is paid to how this relationship varies among adolescents of different races, social background levels, and school racial experiences. The data were collected from a 1966 survey of ninth-graders conducted in eight schools of varying racial mixtures in Pittsburgh. Self-concepts were measured by computer-based content analysis of "Who Am I?" responses. The authors conclude that level of scholastic achievement is positively related to frequency of identification with the student role. (Author/JW)

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SUCCESS AND SELF-CONCEPTION: THE IMPACT OF ACADEMIC GRADES ON THE STUDENT ROLE IDENTITIES OF BLACK AND WHITE ADOLESCENTS

Ellen Murray

Barry Wellman

Department of Sociology
University of Toronto

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An examination of the extent to which variation in academic success is related to variation in the propensity of different subgroups of adolescents to identify themselves in terms of occupying a "student role". Particular attention is paid to how this relationship varies among adolescents of different races, social background levels and social racial experiences.

The data analyzed come from a 1966 survey of ninth-graders conducted in eight schools of varying racial mixtures in Pittsburgh. Self-conceptions are measured by computer-based content analysis of "Who Am I?" responses.

Level of scholastic achievement is positively related to frequency of identification with the student role, although the majority of low achievers do so identify themselves. The lower rate of identification of blacks with the student role cannot be solely attributed to lower levels of academic achievement among blacks. Roughly similar rates of identification for high-achieving students of both races continue to appear when different social background groups and different social racial compositions are considered. Low-quality performance is not associated with such uniform rates of identification; blacks of lower social background level seem to be more vulnerable to the negative feedback of bad grades than are high social background level blacks or whites in general. Blacks who are high achievers are not much influenced in their identifications with the student role by school racial composition, but neither are the very poor students - it is those blacks with mediocre achievement records who respond most to the racial composition of the school.

Success and Self-Conception[1]

A fundamental tenet of modern sociology is that individuals acquire their definitions of situations - including their definitions of themselves - through direct and indirect interaction with others.[2] In practice, though, there have been numerous difficulties in analyzing exactly what definitions have been acquired through which interactions.

What causes disparate self-conceptions, for example, to be adopted by individuals? One plausible factor is that if others communicate to one that he is a success in the performance of a particular role, he will be likely to adopt a self-conception which incorporates that role (see Pettigrew, 1967). Different people may have different criteria of "success" or respond to it differently, however. In this paper, we shall examine the extent to which one explicit, relatively unambiguous and clearly communicated indicator of success - the grades which adolescents have received in school - are related to variation in the propensity of different subgroups of adolescents to identify themselves as occupying a "student role."[3]

We see a student role identity as a potentially salient compondent of adolescents' packagages of "social identities": the social categories, groups and roles to which an individual sees himself as belonging.[4] We shall be especially concerned with how relationships vary among adolescents of different races, social background levels, and school racial experiences. In so doing, we shall be going beyong discussing only the extent to which blacks have become disengaged with school.[5] We shall look to see the extent to which this disengagement, as expressed in student role identification, is affected by the blacks' academic success. We shall be attempting to see how variations in self-conception are affected by the structure of society.

It is usually assumed that an individual attempts to develop as favorable a self-conception as possible. We might then expect that success in a role would lead one to incorporate it into one's self-conception, whereas strong indications of poor performance in a role would often lead to exclusion of this role from a self-conception. Little research has been done to substantiate this proposition, however, and here we wish to test it and to develop other propositions suggesting factors which might modify the effect quality of role performance has on identification with that role.

Some relevant prior research

Those social scientists who have specifically investigated the relationship between academic achievement and self-conception have tended to look at the other side of the phenomenon in which we are interested: the effect of self-conceptions on role performance. Favorable self-conceptions have been found to be positively related to school achievement (see Reeder, 1955; Coopersmith, 1957; Videbeck, 1960; Coleman, et al., 1966). Brookover (1962) found that a more role-specific type of self-conception -"self concept of academic achievement" - is associated strongly with academic success, and Epps (1969) indicates that in black children, this particular form of self-conception is the most strongly related to school grades of a number of personality variables. Underachievers have been shown to have generally more negative attitudes towards themselves as students and towards school (Barrett, 1957; Chabassol, 1959). We have thus accumulated a considerable body of evidence that academic self-conception and academic performance are related to each other.

Psychologists have also investigated the effect of success and failure on self-evaluations under experimentally-manipulatable laboratory conditions. Findings in this area are ambiguous, but some investigators have found that individuals will tend to alter their self-evaluations after a success or failure.[6] As

might be expected, successes usually upgrade self-evaluations and failures downgrade, although successes are more likely than failures to change self-evaluations.

In this paper, we shall be considering the effect of achievement on self-conception, and not the effect of self-conception on achievement, for a number of reasons. First, we believe that there are significant theoretical grounds for asking how one's behavior affects one's perception. (We bracket the point that grades are really someone else's perception of one's behavior). Second, the matter of temporal priority affects our analytic scheme: in the data to be discussed in this paper, the adolescent students knew their (eighth grade) grades before they were asked in the ninth grade to report on their self-conceptions. However, as we are using a symmetrical measure of association, gamma, the reader is free to interpret our findings in the other direction.

Some Propositions

The research reviewed above gives some support to the fundamental proposition to be tested here, that quality of role performance (i.e. school grades) is related to the inclusion or exclusion of a role (i.e. student) in one's self-conception.[7] We expect that success will be more strongly related than failure to such identifications. Furthermore, if the assertions of some social scientists that black students tend to be less concerned than whites with school because they are less successful students is true, then the difference in commitment to school (as indicated by identification with the student role) should disappear when scholastic performance is controlled.

The effects of quality of role performance on identification with a role should not be simple in manifestation, however. A number of considerations must be taken into account before one discusses these effects:

Is the criterion by which performance in a role is evaluated specific and well-known? Relatively fuzzy standards of success may allow one much leeway in according prominence to role in one's self-conception. The role of student in North American culture is one that has relatively precise criteria - grades - the meaning of which are known to most of its incumbents and their significant others. One might suppose, then, that it would be more difficult for a poor student to avoid the acceptance of a negative evaluation of his performance in that role than it would be for a poor lover to attempt the same feat.

From whom does the evaluation of quality of performance come? If we assume that identities which are incorporated into the self-conception are largely derived from the perceptions of self communicated by significant others, then it would seem that only those evaluations which come from these significant others would have much influence on individual self-conceptions. In the case of the student role, the teacher is the official, legitimated source of scholastic evaluation and the producer of the indicator of success: grades. We shall only be concerned with this source of evaluation in the present paper. But we are fully aware that academic self-evaluation is related to communication gleaned from other sources. In a future paper, we shall consider the impact of the scholastic norms of one's reference groups, the self-conceptions of one's friends, and the grade performance of these friends on propensity to identify oneself in student role terms.

Is the role in question culturally or legally prescribed as important for those in certain stages of the life cycle? If it is, then one might expect that the pressures on those in such a life cycle stage to incorporate that role into their self-conception might be so strong that almost all might so incorporate it, regardless of the quality of their role performance. "Student," for example, is a role which younger adolescents are legally required to play and is a role which parents,

other adults, and, to a certain extent, their peers expect them to play. "Bowler," on the other hand, is a role whose performance is not normally subject to legal or cultural expectation. We might expect that many more poor students than poor bowlers would include these respective roles in their self-conceptions. Thus we can anticipate that although good students will identify themselves in terms of the student role more often than will poor students, large numbers of poor students will still incorporate the student role into their self-conceptions.

Is a high level of success in the performance of a given role more valued by members of some social groups than by others? We might expect that the same degree of objectively-designated success in a culturally-approved role would offer a stronger incentive to identify with that role than it would for those belonging to a group which places relatively less value on it. Then, too, different groups may well have different criteria of success, so that what is considered to be success in one group might be considered failure or average performance in others. (see Stouffer et al. 1949). Furthermore, if one succeeds in a group in which success is rare, then one might well be more likely to incorporate the successfully performed role into one's self-conception. Thus high-achieving black students might identify with the student role more frequently than whites with comparable academic records. And we might also anticipate that high academic achievement would be more strongly associated with student role self-identification among those students from the lowest social background levels, and especially from among those black students at these levels.

What differences in the relationships between academic achievement and tendency to adopt a student role identification might we find in schools of various racial compositions? Blacks who are good students may identify with the student role most frequently in all-black schools, because such success is rarer there, in absolute terms, than at other schools. But we also can envisage the reverse of this situation. Perhaps a black

who is a top student in a predominantly-white school will value his success more than a similarly-achieving black in all-black school simply because he has outperformed whites rather than other blacks?

In the remainder of this paper, we shall empirically test a number of these propositions and discuss the implications of our findings for future research.

The Data and the Research Instrument

The Data: The data to be examined here is drawn from a questionnaire administered to students in eight ninth grades in Pittsburgh during May, 1966 (see St. John, 1969; Wellman, 1969, 1970a, 1970b, 1971a, 1971b). Almost half of the students surveyed were black (1266) and half were white (1198). They were not a random sample of any larger population but comprised the entire ninth-grade populations (excluding persistent absentees) of seven schools selected for their range of racial compositions. In an eighth school, only 2% black, all ninth grade blacks were surveyed, but practical considerations limited us to surveying only a small random sample of ninth grade whites there. Tests of significance used in this paper should be interpreted with these characteristics of the sample in mind.[8] The racial compositions of these schools had been fairly stable for a number of years.

In this paper, social background level is measured by the highest educational attainment of either of the respondent's parents. "Average grade," the indicator of academic achievement used in this paper, is an average of the students' most recent english, mathematics and social studies grades.[9]

The "Who Am I?": One way to study student identities would have been to ask the students what they thought of themselves in relation to school. To have done so, however, would have been to place severe constraints on the scope of the responses and would have presupposed that all of the respondents did, in fact,

think of themselves in relation to school.

We therefore chose to use the "Who Am I?" instrument in our study of self-conceptions.[10] As part of a self-administered questionnaire, students were asked to identify themselves by completing the sentence "I am ..." fifteen times. This method did not predetermine the structure or content of the students' self-descriptions, unlike many other frequently used measures of self-conception. The individual was free to identify himself in his own language, operating only within the broad limits of prefacing the description with "I am." Methodological issues pertaining to our use of the "Who Am I?" are discussed at some length in Wellman (1971a).

Responses by 2,150 students were coded by using a specially-constructed "dictionary" in conjunction with the General Inquirer content analysis system (Stone, et al., 1966, Wellman, 1969). One of the ninety-two categories used, student role, comprised statements about membership in the school community and references to performance of the student role. As most categories were only mentioned once by respondents, if at all, we consequently examine in this and other papers only the dichotomous distinction of whether or not a respondent identified himself at all in terms of a given social identity. Even if an identity such as student role is mentioned twice, it seems unwarranted to us to assume that this role is twice as salient to a respondent as it is to one who only mentioned it once.

Are the data we so obtain useful data? What can we infer when a student tells us that he is "a student at G high school" or that he is "studious"? Undoubtedly, many things are being experienced by the student when he says this beyond a statement of his attendance at school and an assessment of his scholastic performance. Such subtle depths are beyond the analytical competence of the WAI technique. But we do know - because the student has clearly communicated the information to us - that he does

identify himself as attending a school and he does think of himself as a person who studies a lot. It is this communicated core of information - from respondent to investigator - which is commonly interpretable, accessible for study, and of considerable analytical importance.

Academic Achievement and Identification with the Student Role

Our data show a significant direct linear relationship between level of academic achievement and frequency of identification with the student role. Of those who have "A" averages, a significantly higher proportion (82.7%) than the aggregate (68.4%) see themselves as students, while a significantly lower proportion (57.3%) of those who are failing do so.[11] The "booster" effect of academic success seems greater than the depressive effect of academic failure on student role identification. Hence failure has less effect than success on identification with the student role. Moreover, we find that at any level of achievement, the great majority of adolescents identify themselves as students.

(Figure 1 about here)

Why should so many scholastically unsuccessful or mediocre students be able to maintain an image of themselves in the role of a student? In a competitive society, failure should have a marked impact on self-conception. Or it is perhaps possible that among many of the poorly achieving adolescents, scholastically competitive norms are not present or have been neutralized? Further research into the impact of normative climates, on the micro and macro levels, is clearly indicated.

Research referred to above indicated that individuals were less likely to downgrade than upgrade themselves in terms of self-evaluation, even when presented with precise "objective" information on their success or failure in a role. But why haven't a larger proportion of those who are "failures" here

maintained positive self-images by simply not including the role of student in their self-conceptions, since they had that option with the open-ended WAI?

The development of a positive self-conception in most adolescents probably requires successful identification with the student role, since some of the principal expectations others have of adolescents center around this role, and very few young adolescents have a choice as to whether or not they will perform it. Thus one would expect that the adolescent would make every effort possible to relate positively to the role of student. The diffuseness of this role in the minds of adolescents probably facilitates successful identification with it; such identification can be based not only on academic performance but on success in scholastically-linked social relationships or extra-curricular activities.

Blacks and whites: The proportions of blacks and whites identifying themselves as students are not equal when academic achievement is controlled. For both groups, there is a direct relationship between grades and propensity to identify oneself as a student. At first, it seems that whites respond slightly, but insignificantly more favorably to good grades in identifying themselves as students; 75.7% of whites who are "high achieving" students and 72.0% of similarly achieving blacks stress their role as students.[12] But if one uses the aggregate levels of identification for each race as the basis of comparison, the picture is reversed. Only an insignificant 2.6% more student identifications come from high-achieving whites than come from the aggregate of all whites (73.1%), while significantly more (7.2%) high-achieving blacks than the aggregate of all blacks (64.8%) identify themselves as students.[13] This provides some support for our hypothesis that high achievement means more to blacks - at least insofar as their willingness to see themselves as students is concerned - than it means to whites.

(Figure 2 about here)

There is still less similarity between rates of black and white student identifications at lower levels of academic achievement. Whites who are failing in school are significantly 1.28 times more likely than similarly situated blacks to see themselves as students. Differences are more striking still when one compares the proportions of student identifications among black and white academic failures to the aggregate proportions of all blacks and whites. Failing blacks are significantly (12.2%) below the aggregate of all blacks in student identifications, but whites with "F" averages are only insigificantly (5.4%) below the aggregate of their race. Blacks seem to be more sensitive than whites to the stigma of poor grades.

The more marked rise among the blacks in proportion of student role identifications occurs between the "D" and the "C" students, while, for whites, the most marked rise occurs between the "C's" and the "A-B's." A reasonable speculation is that in the black community, a more modest level of academic achievement is seen as being an academic success.

Originally we have hypothesized that blacks would respond more strongly than whites to academic success in their identification with the student role, because such success was a rarer commodity in the black community. Logically, then, we might think that blacks would also be less strongly affected by academic failure in their propensity to identify themselves as students. Modification of our expectation is necessary, as it appears that blacks are not much more sensitive to academic failure with respect to student role identifications. These findings should not obscure the important fact that a majority of even the failing blacks see themselves as students. As is the case with the majority of failing whites, they manage to incorporate this identity into their self-conceptions even though they have been officially defined as failures.

Social background level: Does the effect of scholastic achievement on the student role identifications of blacks and whites change much when the social background of respondents is considered? In previous papers (Wellman, 1970b, 1971a), we

found that there was not much variation between those from different social background levels within a racial group in such identifications when level of scholastic achievement was left uncontrolled. Introduction of a measure of social background level as a variable in the present analysis creates little change in the pattern of such identifications among high-achievers, but there is some variation among those who perform poorly in school.[14]

Among the blacks studied, high achievement is associated with similarly high proportions of student role identification at all social background levels. There is a significant direct association between average grades and identification of self as students only for Level I black respondents. Social background level seems to be a more decisive factor in student role identification among blacks when their academic performance is not good. The lower the social background level, the less likely is a black to see himself as a student when his scholastic performance is poor. When failures are considered, a Level III black is 1.83 times (significantly) more likely than a Level I black to make such an identification. This finding is consistent with Epps' (1969) report of a relationship between socio-economic status and academic self-conception in blacks.

(Figure 3 about here)

The effect of social background level on the likelihood of whites with varying degrees of academic achievement to identify themselves as students is not as claear. We again find little difference by social background level in the proportion identifying themselves as students who have high or even mediocre achievement levels. There is a significant direct relationship for whites between grades and proportion identifying themselves as students only among those at Level II. The effect that social background level has on such identifications at lower levels of achievement is quite different from what was found among the black students. Low frequencies of failures

among both those of high and low social background levels make comparisons in this area somewhat tenuous, but if we examine those with "D" averages, we can see that low status Level I respondents are (insignificantly) 1.22 times more likely to identify themselves as students than are high status Level III respondents. This tendency is not very strong, but it is puzzling. Possibly, high status whites are offered more attractive role alternatives to that of "student" than are those from lower social background levels, and this wider choice enables them to avoid more easily identifying themselves with a role in which they have been performing unsuccessfully.

If cross-racial comparisons between respondents of the same social background levels are made, it appears again that similar proportions of successful black and white students of the same social background level identify themselves as students.[15] For example, among those from Level II who are failing in school, whites are (insignificantly) 1.28 times more likely than blacks to see themselves as students. It is only the black students at middle or low social background levels who seem especially sensitive to low grades. A review of the literature of the possible effects of scholastic anxiety in blacks in sensitizing them to the stigma of low achievement provides a possible explanation. Feld and Lewis' (1967) study indicate that this school-related anxiety among black school children is negatively related to SES: the lower the SES level of the home, the higher the tendency to have school anxiety. This anxiety may be associated with less of a tendency to see oneself as a student.

School racial composition: Previous papers (Wellman, 1970b, 1971a) showed that the racial composition of schools is related to the proportion of student role identities proferred by their students. Blacks were found to see themselves as students most often in "segregated" all-black or highly-white schools, and whites were found to be less likely to identify themselves as students in a school environment in which they were in the minority. It was suggested that in schools in which either racial minority was very small, race might be a less salient

basis for social interaction than it would be in schools with large proportions of both black and white students (see Wellman, 1971b), and individuals would thus be freer to adopt other important identities, such as that of student role, rather than roles emphasizing race. The tentative explanation offered for the whites responses was that having a large number of black schoolmates might be somewhat stigmatizing for a number of whites, and under such conditions, school and its attendant roles would be pushed out of mind. (see the discussion in Pettigrew, 1967).

Does consideration of academic achievement change the relationships found previously between different school racial compositions and student role identifications? We have earlier set forth contradictory hypotheses that high-achieving blacks would be more likely to identify themselves as students in either all-black or predominantly-white schools. Examining the data, though, we find that the racial composition of the school seems to have little meaningful impact on the prevalence of student role identifications of high-achieving blacks. In fact, both extremely high or low achievement levels tend to reduce the effect that differences in school racial composition have on black students. Hence, no matter what the racial composition of the school attended by the good or very poor student is, it will not be associated with much fluctuation in the frequencies with which those at these extremes of performance identify themselves as students.[16] One of our hypotheses is somewhat confirmed, when we find a significant direct relationship in the all-black schools between grades and proportion of respondents identifying themselves as students.

(Figure 4 about here)

Something of an influence of school racial composition does emerge when we consider blacks of intermediate ("C" and "D") levels of achievement. Such blacks are more likely to

identify themselves as students when they are in the more uniracial schools, white as well as black. For example, of those with a "C" grade level, we find that blacks in highly-white schools are (significantly) 1.52 times more likely to take the student role as are blacks in the predominantly-black (51-80%) school.

Why should the mediocre or average black student be more influenced by the racial composition of his school? Clues to a possible answer might be found in experimental studies on the effect of "ambiguous" evaluation of performance on subjects' self-evaluations. This research suggests that when a task is evaluated ambiguously, as neither success nor failure, that changes in self-evaluation are more variable (Stotland and Zander, 1958). Average grades - neither good nor bad - can be seen as an ambiguous feedback on performance, and thus the variability of students in the middle of the grade range is not completely surprising. The uncertain meaning of average grades may make the individual student more sensitive to the racial climate of his school. Those average students who are not subject to the racial pressures of mixed school may feel freer to adopt the student role.

The racial composition of the school does not seem to affect whites at any grade level as much as it does blacks. Being a top student makes whites (as it does blacks) fairly impervious to school racial composition; in all racial situations, similarly high levels of student identification are maintained. There is a moderate significant direct tendency for whites in the highly-white schools to identify themselves as students with increasing achievement level. Perhaps in these schools, the importance of scholastic achievement is not complicated by racial considerations. There are insignificant patterns for poor and mediocre white students.

Conclusions

1. Level of scholastic achievement is positively related to the frequency of identification with the student role, although the majority of even poor students do stress this role as being important to them. It is apparent that evaluation of one's performance in such a role has something to do with the tendency to incorporate that role into one's self-conception. It also appears, however, that the degree to which the role in question is stressed by relevant social groups, both legally and normatively, affects the extent to which successful performance in that role is related to having an identification with it.

2. The lower rate of identification of blacks with the student role cannot be solely attributed to lower academic achievement among blacks. Among top students, both blacks and whites are about equally as likely to see themselves as students. But at lower levels of achievement, whites identify themselves as student more frequently than do blacks.

3. Roughly similar rates of identification with the student role for high-achieving students of both races continue to appear when students in different social background groups and different school racial compositions are considered. If one is a good student, these other factors do not much affect one's identification with the student role. Put more generally, academic success seems to have a stronger and more uniform effect on role identification than academic failure or mediocre performance.

4. Our expectation that academic success would lead to a greater tendency to identify oneself as a student among those coming from a low social background level or black groups is not strongly substantiated, although there are some supportive findings. It seems that a high quality of performance in a role leads to fairly similar rates of identification with that role for different social background level and racial groups.

Low-quality performance, however, does not produce such uniform rates of identification with the role in question; blacks of lower social background level seem to be more vulnerable to the negative feedback of bad grades than are high background level blacks or whites in general. This special sensitivity may be due in part to a generally greater anxiety about scholastic performance.

5. Blacks who are good students are not affected by school racial composition in their tendencies to identify themselves as students, but (unlike the situation in which social background level was considered) neither are low achieving students. It is those with mediocre achievement levels who respond most to the racial composition of the school. These blacks see themselves as students more often when they attend schools in which there is a great numerical predominance of either blacks or whites. Low-achieving whites in racially-mixed schools are more likely than whites of a similar achievement level in highly-white schools to assert themselves as being in the student role.

We believe that our most important general finding is the relationship between academic success and tendency to see oneself as a student. This is true, with varying degrees of strength, for all subgroups, black as well as white, low social background level as well as high. Such a finding not only provides corroboration for our basic hypothesis that success is directly related to identification, it also indicates that there may be important similarities in the kinds of performance that subgroup members deem important in evaluating themselves and translating these evaluations to their self-conceptions.[17] Thus there may well be important commonalities in the construction of self-conceptions between seemingly disparate subgroups located in seemingly disparate social milieus.

In future research we hope to speak further to some of the concerns raised initially in this paper. The finding of commonalities between subgroups and the obtaining of only moderate gammas

in this paper indicate to us that we must take into account more variables in dealing with self-conception. In future research we intend to specify more precisely the relative effect subgroup membership has upon the relationship between success and identification as a role incumbent, to consider the impact the normative expectations of respondents' reference groups, to examine the influence of the self-conceptions, academic achievement and norms of respondents' friends, and, perhaps most importantly to look to see what the relative and interactive effects are between role performance an reference group norms on choice of self-conceptions.

FOOTNOTES

1. We wish to acknowledge the advice and assistance of Chad Gordon, Nancy St. John, Philip Stone, David Rotenberg, and George Geothals in this study.

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2. See Mead (1934) for the classic statement, and Shibutani (1961) and Turner (1968) for the more recent discussions. This tenet has transcended the boundaries of strict symbolic interactionism, however.

3. Our data is cross-sectional, and association but not true causality can strictly be only inferred. However, as indicated below, we feel that there is reason to expect some sort of causal relationship between success and self-conception.

4. Wellman (1971b) differentiates between "social identities" and the "personal attributes" of an individual such as intelligence or red hair. Gordon (1968) makes a similar distinction. This usage is somewhat different from what Goffman (1963) has called "social identities."

5. See Katz (1969), Grambs (1965), and Ausubel and Ausubel (1963) for reviews of the literature.

6. See Sharma (1956), Diggory and Magziner (1959), and Stotland and Zander (1958).

7. The research reviewed above used forced-choice formats, while we have employed an open-ended instrument. Therefore, there is only rough comparability between the relationships previous researchers have found between role performance and negative self-evaluations, and those we have found between role performance and the inclusion or exclusion of a role from one's self-conception.

8. More complete descriptions of the sample are contained in St. John (1969) and Wellman (1969).

9. Analyses were also done for each of the separate grades. Average grade was consistently found to be more strongly associated than any of these with propensity to identify oneself as a student.

10. This method was used for the study of a wide range of self-conceptions and not just academically-related ones. The fullest description of the work is contained in Wellman (1969) while further work is presented in Wellman (1971a, 1971b). The instrument is often referred to as the "Twenty Statements Test (TST)".

11. Significance tests on data reported in the text of this paper are those for the differences between two proportions or for the difference of a subgroup's proportion from that of the entire relevant population. A .05 significance level is used. Chi-square is used as the test of significance for the data presented in the Figures.

12. "High-achieving" students are defined as those with "A" or "B" averages. The number of blacks who have "A" averages alone is too small for reliable comparison.

13. It should be noted that there are methodological cautions in comparing subgroup percentages to the overall percentages of aggregates. The greater the proportion the subgroup is of the aggregate, the more the aggregate percentage will be affected by the subgroup percentage. In this case, however, the proportion of high-achieving students of the aggregate samples involved is not large.

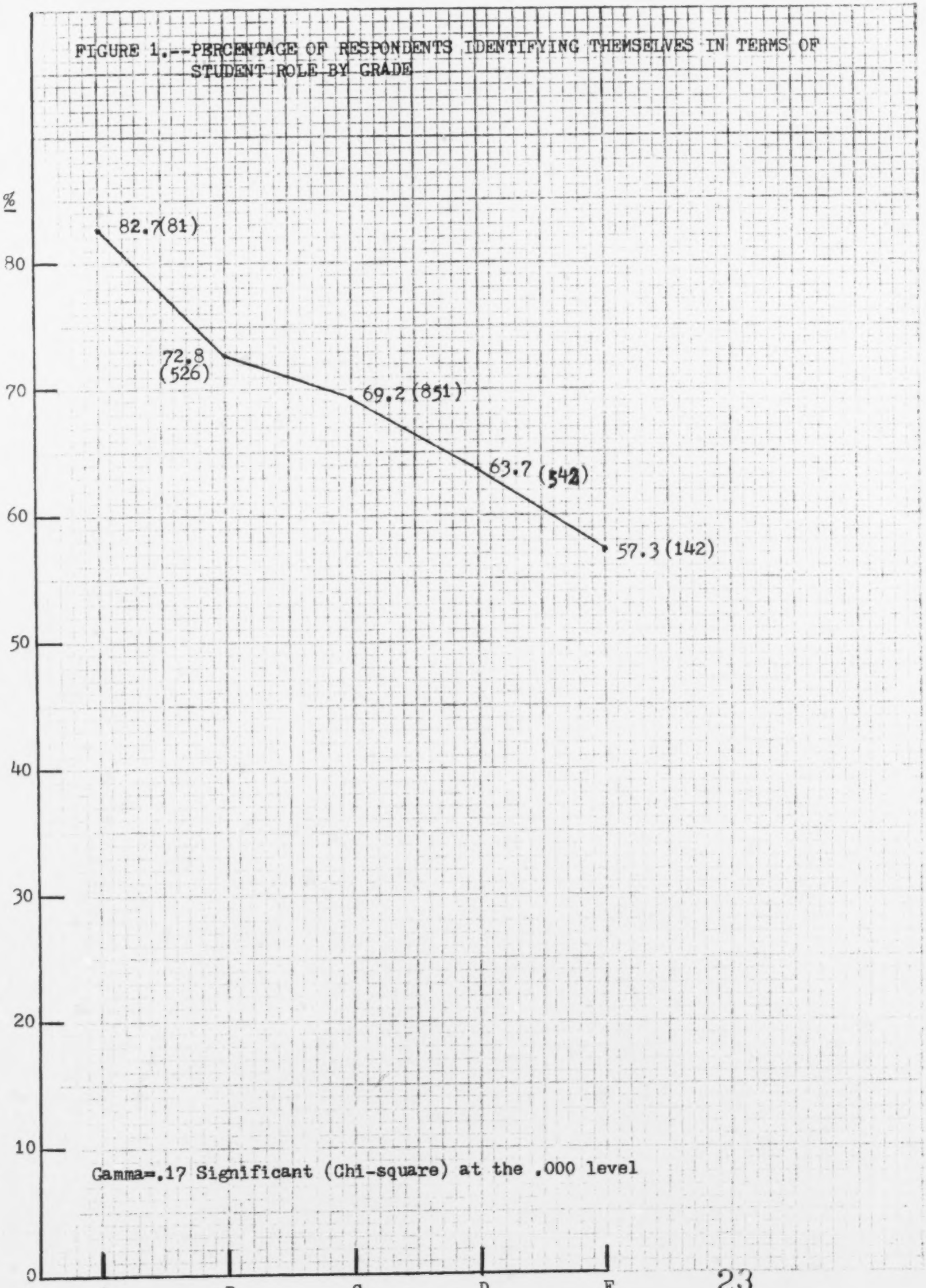
14. In our measure of social background level: Level 1 indicates that neither parent had finished high school; at Level II, at least one parent is a high school graduate; at Level III, at least one parent has some education beyond high school. Small cell sizes in the elaborated tables preclude finer distinctions.

15. There does seem to be some more sensitivity of whites at certain levels to "success" when defined more strictly in terms of an "A" average. (The data are not included here.) Since whites in general receive better grades than blacks, perhaps only "A's" are considered to be real successes by the majority of them, while "B's" are just seen as routine.

16. The implications of the high rate of student role identification for failing black students in highly-white schools is unclear. There are very few students in this category, however.

17. Almost all of the respondents report a high interest by themselves and their parents in school (St. John, 1969); Wellman, 1969).

FIGURE 1.--PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IDENTIFYING THEMSELVES IN TERMS OF STUDENT ROLE BY GRADE



Gamma=.17 Significant (Chi-square) at the .000 level

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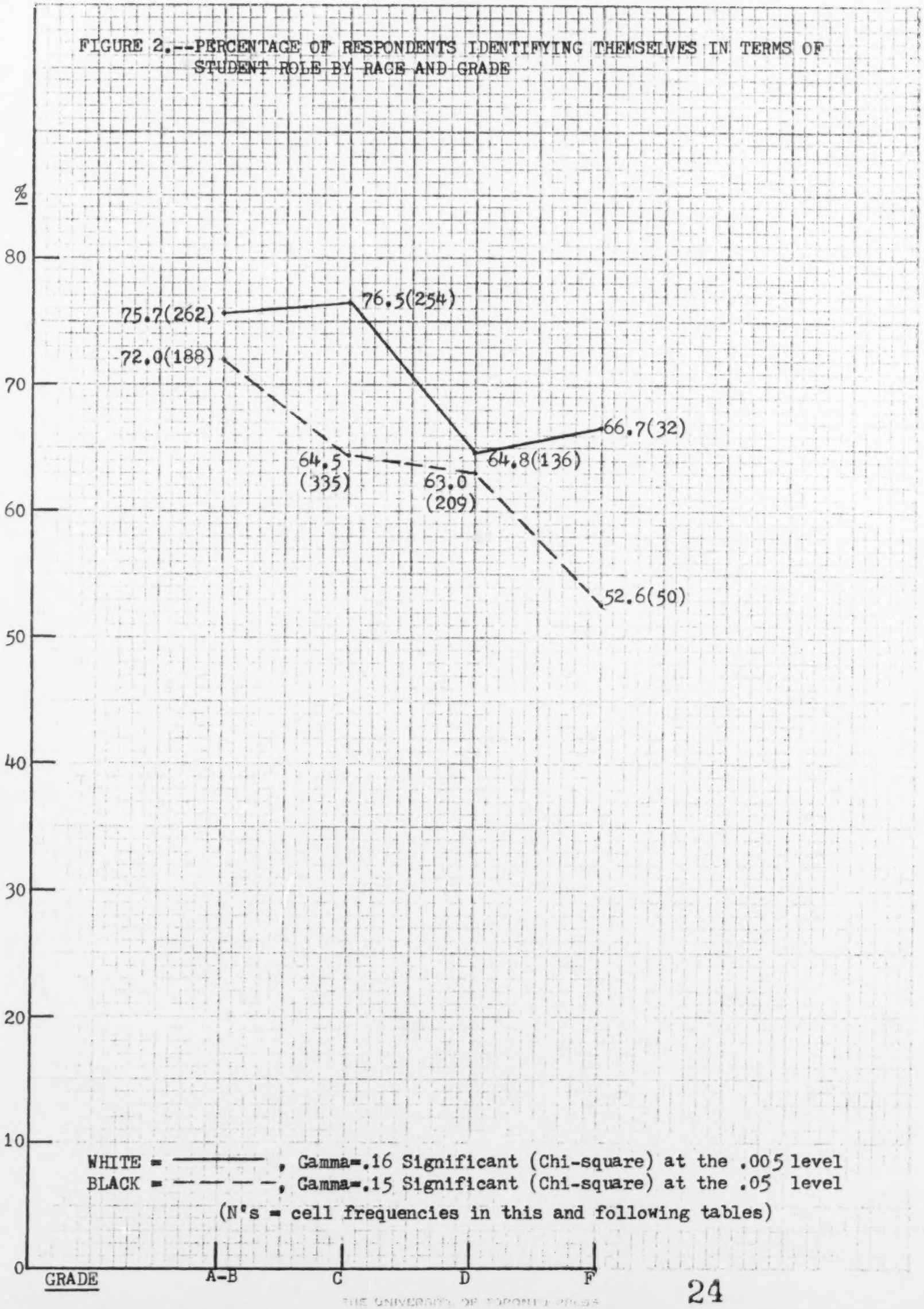
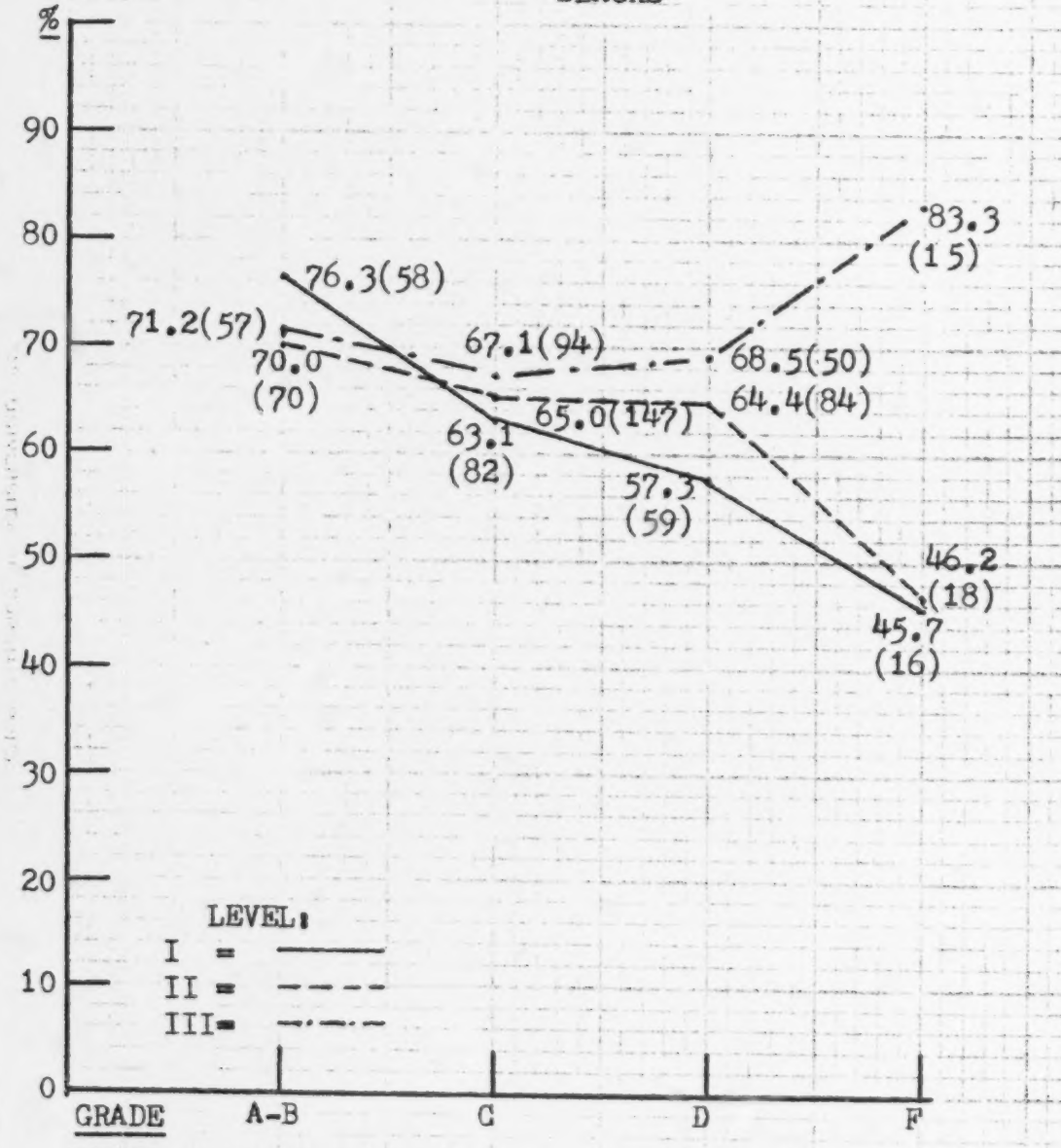
FIGURE 2.--PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IDENTIFYING THEMSELVES IN TERMS OF STUDENT ROLE BY RACE AND GRADE



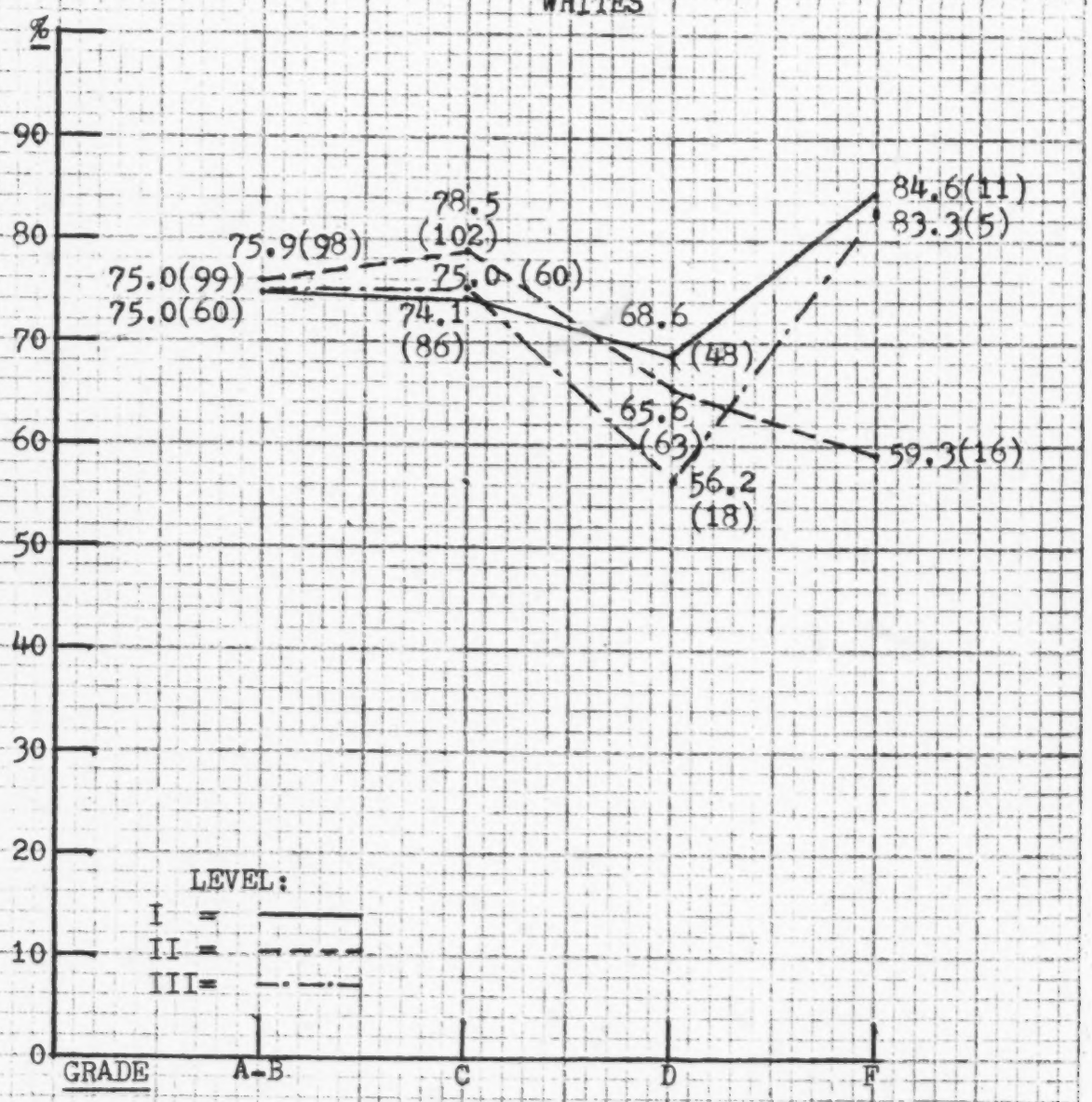
WHITE = ———— , Gamma=.16 Significant (Chi-square) at the .005 level
BLACK = — — — —, Gamma=.15 Significant (Chi-square) at the .05 level

(N's = cell frequencies in this and following tables)

FIGURE 3.--PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS IDENTIFYING THEMSELVES IN TERMS OF STUDENT ROLE BY RACE, SOCIAL BACKROUND LEVEL AND GRADE

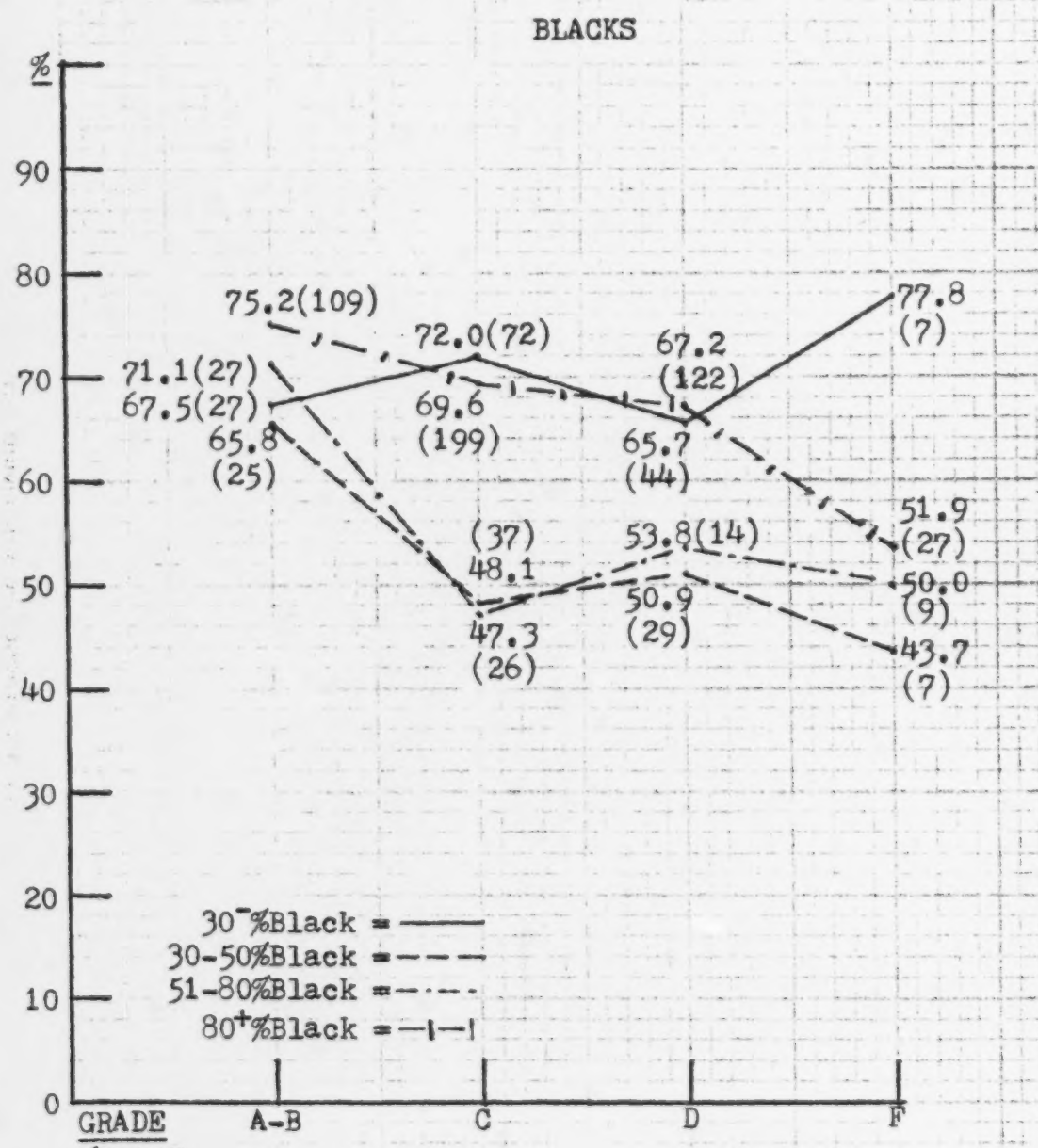


LEVEL:
I Gamma=.28 Significant (Chi-square) at the .05 level
II Gamma=.15 Not significant (Chi-square)
III Gamma=.03 Not significant (Chi-square)

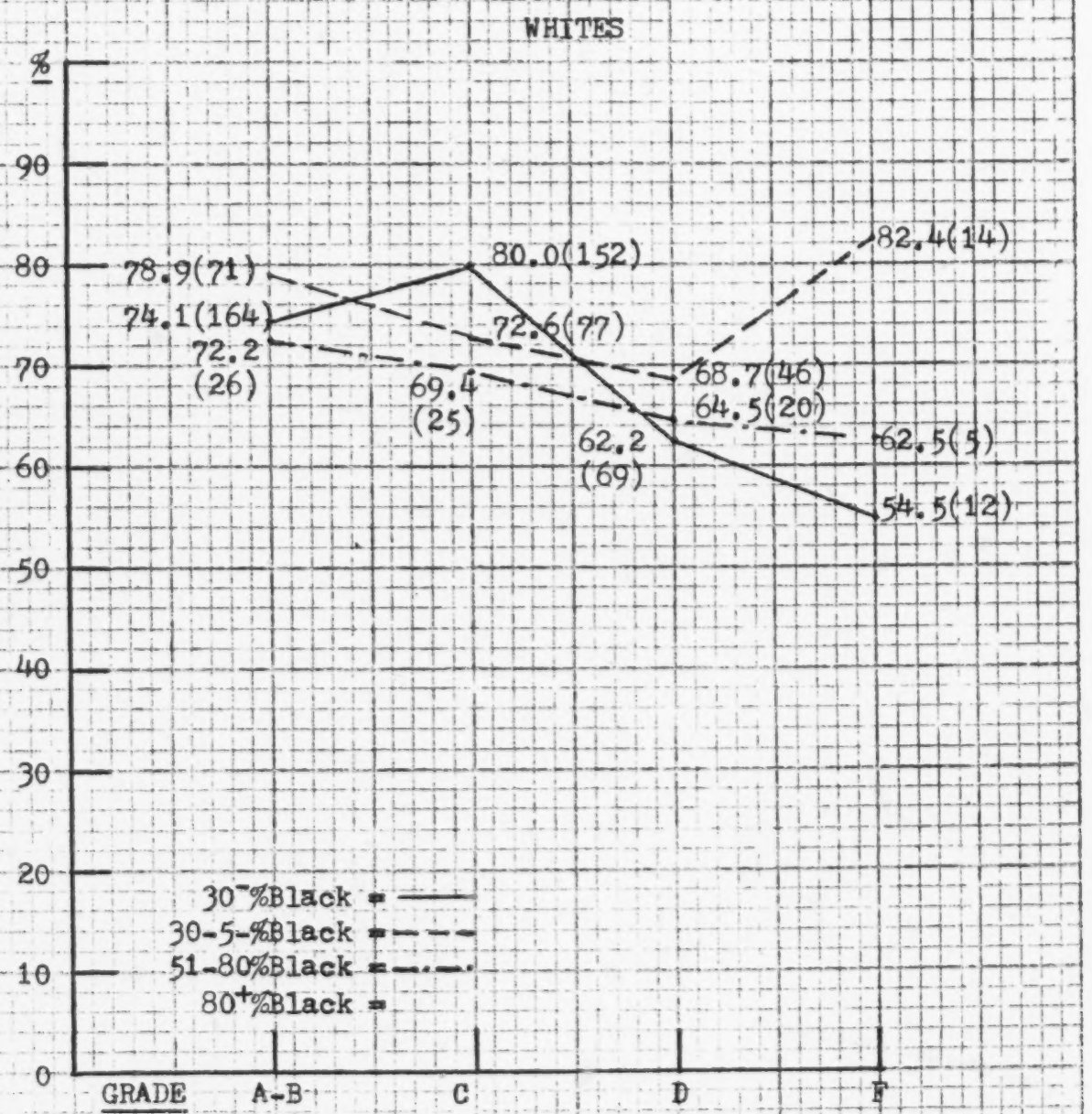


LEVEL:
I Gamma=.07 Not significant (Chi-square)
II Gamma=.20 Significant (Chi-square) at the .05 level
III Gamma=.15 Not significant (Chi-square)

FIGURE 4.--PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS IDENTIFYING THEMSELVES IN TERMS OF STUDENT ROLE BY RACE, SCHOOL RACIAL COMPOSITION AND GRADE



%BLACK:
30⁻ Gamma=.02 Not significant (Chi-square)
30-50 Gamma=.16 Not significant (Chi-square)
51-80 Gamma=.18 Not significant (Chi-square)
80⁺ Gamma=.18 Significant (Chi-square) at the .05 level



%BLACK:
30⁻ Gamma=.19 Significant (Chi-square) at the .001 level
30-50 Gamma=.12 Not significant (Chi-square)
51-80 Gamma=.14 Not significant (Chi-square)

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